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No war over Suez, the people of Britain say
Worried crowds gather outside 10 Downing St. See Belfrage, p. 8

OUR BOY AT THE BRINK AGAIN?

Dulles' 'users plan' for Suez stirs a worldwide storm

By Kumar Goshal

ANGLO-FRENCH EFFORTS to force a Suez showdown with Egyptian President Nasser took an ominous turn last week. Tory Prime Minister Anthony Eden hastily summoned the British Parliament to win support for the canal "users' association" plan, and 140 Western pilots were recalled from Egypt by the Suez Canal Co. at the request of London and Paris.

Eden's plan was conceived by U.S. Secy. of State Dulles as a lawyer's gimmick to build up an ostensibly legal case against Nasser. Washington has felt it "unwise to take the issue to the UN [because] it seems doubtful that there is a legal case against Egypt" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 9/17).

Dulles' plan would set up an association comprising some canal users who would employ their own pilots to convoy their ships through the canal, collect tolls and regulate traffic. The association would, in effect, put into practice the plan for international control already rejected by Egypt as violating its sovereignty. Dulles, however, reasoned that if Nasser barred such a convoy from the canal, he would be violating the 1888 Convention guaranteeing free passage of all ships.

CHALLENGE ACCEPTED: Worldwide repercussions to Dulles' brainchild and the recall of the pilots were far from what the Big Three Western powers had expected. (For British reaction, see Cedric Belfrage, p. 8).

Nasser accepted the Western challenge, declared he would not allow the "users' association" to function through the canal. He said: "We Egyptians shall run the canal smoothly and efficiently and if, in spite of this, the canal users' association forces its way through the Suez Canal then it would mean aggression and would be treated as such."

The new Egyptian Suez Canal authority posted a notice urging Egyptian pilots to spare no efforts to run traffic smoothly "so that they will win the admiration of the world."

While the Egyptian ambassadors to Washington, London and Paris lodged emphatic protests, the Egyptian representative notified the UN and its Secy.-Gen. Dag Hammarskjold of Egypt's "determination to assure the continuation of normal passage through the canal." He added: "However, if after all the measures taken by Egypt, the navigation

Canard Enchaine, Paris
"This isn't a canal, it's a sewer!"

in the Suez Canal is hampered, responsibility . . . would lie upon those who have endeavored to create conditions aimed at obstructing the so far unaffected normal passage of shipping." A second Egyptian note asked the Security Council to keep a "vigilant eye" on the situation.

NEHRU'S WARNING: Asians unanimously condemned the Dulles plan revealed by Eden. India's Premier Nehru told the House of the People that he read "Eden's speech with surprise and regret . . . The action envisaged in it is full of dangerous potentialities and far-reaching conse-

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POLITICS

Democratic stock boosted in elections in 3 states

By Elmer Bendiner

TWO CAVEMEN of U.S. politics and a witch-hunter were buried last week in primary elections. Republican voters put out of the running Gov. J. Bracken Lee of Utah, seeking his party's support for a third term, and Wisconsin's Rep. Glenn R. Davis, trying for Sen. Alexander Wiley's seat.

Democrats of Nevada swamped J. G. Sourwine, former counsel for the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, who was a poor fourth in his race for the Senate nomination. During his campign Sourwine charged N. Y. Atty. Gen. Jacob K. Javits with having communist acquaintances.

Utah's Gov. Lee had been an outspoken backer of Sen. McCarthy in fair weather and foul. He campaigned insistently against the United Nations and once withheld part of his income tax because he didn't want any of his money going to foreigners. He was beaten by George D. Clyde.

10,000-VOTE MARGIN: In Wisconsin Davis was backed by McCarthy and the GOP state machine, out to retire Wiley, 72, for his opposition to McCarthy and his support of President Eisenhower's "internationalist" policy. Davis was also reported to have had considerable financial backing which prompted Wiley in his campaign to denounce the state party leaders as "money bags" and "king makers."

Wiley won by 10,000 votes out of 700,000 cast in the GOP primary. A third entry, Howard H. Boyle, rallying the state's mossbacks on a straight anti-Eisenhower program, polled over 20,000 votes. Davis supporters insisted the Boyle faction had ruined them. But other observers said Boyle's supporters would

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

American progressives and the Presidential election

WE KNOW THAT THE READERS of this newspaper are divided on the 1956 Presidential election. Our mail and our personal conversations throughout the summer have made this clear. Some intend to vote for one or another of the minor parties appearing on the ballot in their states. Others intend to sit this one out. Most, we believe, intend to "beat Nixon" by voting for Stevenson and Kefauver on the Democratic ticket, or on the Liberal line in New York State.

We cannot, in good conscience, argue in opposition to those who intend to vote for the candidates of the minor parties. In the only remaining way open to them they are keeping alive the embers of independent political ballot action and, in most cases, intend to cast their votes positively for a program of social and political change.

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN was founded on the principle of the need for independent political action—specifically in 1948 in support of the program of the Progressive Party—and its editors feel that nothing has happened in the intervening eight years to make them feel they were wrong. If anything, that need is more apparent today than ever before. However, the minor parties of the Left today are badly dispersed; there is little likelihood that their total vote will be a fair measure of the size of the potential protest that a united party of the American Left might reflect.

Neither is there any reason to believe that an unorganized boycott of the elections could assume significant proportions. With respect to this negative tactic, we fully agree with C. B. Baldwin, former secretary of the Progressive Party, who said in this paper last week that the voting franchise is the most important form of protest we have—and we must use it.

IN NEW YORK and in California and in a few other pivotal states the vote of GUARDIAN readers and their friends could conceivably be decisive in an extremely close Presidential race. We know that this is a thought that carries considerable weight in the "beat Nixon" argument.

But we believe firmly that these votes should not be cast for the Democrats without exacting a price in terms of program. In his statement last week Baldwin urged progressives like himself earnestly to support Stevenson and Kefauver on the ground that a "new management has taken over"—an estimate with which Vincent Hallinan, Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party in 1952, disagrees (see p. 5).

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(Don't miss, please!)

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REPORT TO READERS

Back to 12 pages

WITH THIS ISSUE THE GUARDIAN returns to its usual size of 12 pages. That means more news, more pictures and cartoons, more comment—and, we hope, more stimulating exchange among us in one of the most exciting periods of modern history. That's what we're here for.

You know, when we first began publishing eight years ago, we said then that we would not have regular editorials, but we would have a definite point of view. We've done a lot of viewing and pointing in that time, and much of it has been with your help. A paper like ours with a small budget cannot afford many full-time paid correspondents. Therefore we depend to a large extent on you readers to send us in clippings from your local papers, articles in the magazines we may miss and, above all, comment of your own. We've been able to publish some gems that way (the "How Crazy" department is one of our most popular features) and have often been able to fill out our research here with a clip from Tuscaloosa which just made a story.

In this election time, we are asking you again to turn reporter and researcher. We know that in many parts of the country there are Congressional and local contests taking place which would be of interest to all our readers. More than that, we know that readers all over the country are looking to us for guidance in local campaigns, as well as the Presidential election. Have polls been taken in your community to sound out sentiment? Have you seen a priceless cartoon which you'd like to share with the GUARDIAN family? Has a local political sage put his finger on the heart of a matter? Send it in; we'd like to take a look. But be sure to include the source and the date.

ABOUT OUR EIGHT-PAGE SUMMER PAPER: this annual economy was a particularly tight squeeze this year because of the extraordinary reporting we received throughout July and August from Cedric Belfrage and Tabitha Petran from the U.S.S.R. and elsewhere in the Eastern world. We can objectively say that Belfrage's seasoned observations were the best we read anywhere and Miss Petran's top-level interviews with Soviet officials have been the most widely reprinted of any recent GUARDIAN reporting and have caused international reverberations.

Just this week there came a letter from a valued newspaperwoman in Paris which made us feel pretty good. Just back from two months in Italy and Germany she wrote: "Now that I have caught up on most back issues of the GUARDIAN, and in case you haven't been complimented lately, I think the GUARDIAN pieces out of the U.S.S.R. make for the most informative reading to be found on this subject these days."

With the last of Miss Petran's series on Central Asia this week, the GUARDIAN's direct reporting from the U.S.S.R. comes to an end for the time being. But you may be sure that we have two better-informed correspondents from whom you will hear more in the future—and a better-informed readership.

INCIDENTALLY, OUR PARIS FRIEND ADDED: "As for your appeals for funds, people should respond just for the pleasure of reading them . . ." That's a lovely notion. If you're lately back from vacation, and are catching up with back GUARDIANs, you may note the frightening black type which appeared on page one in August, when the wolf was drooling at our door. He's slunk off down by the East River now, but he ain't daid. So if you want to make sure he stays away—and you didn't know things were THAT bad—you might direct a little Autumn wolf-insurance our way.

But above all, give the paper to your friends: new subs are the best insurance. This current 12-pager is a good one to start with.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG

God and politics

CLEVELAND, O.

To this writer it has always seemed queer that we in this country should concern ourselves with the alleged godlessness of the Russian Communists when very likely we have many more Democratic and Republican "atheists" than we have Communists. About this, however, no complaint is made. It thus appears that there is something "political" behind this godlessness that really is ungodly. For instance, we have recently noted that some of our candidates for political office attended church, which they formerly neglected. In fact, one of them, an ardent Catholic, went to a Protestant religious service—this surely for a political purpose. These manifestations indicate that hypocrisy is dominant in both politics and religion.

Joseph Manlet

Achtung!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The aging Hindenburg
Ike can play in a pinch;
In the Fuhrer role
Nixon's a lead pipe cinch.

L. G.

Lincoln—and after

VICTOR, COLO.

I am nearing 88 and both legs and brain getting wobbly. I doubt if I last until election; if so I will be delivered the humiliation of knowing Dick Nixon was elected Vice President of the U.S. I have lived under every President since Lincoln; what a contrast between the first Republican President and the last (I hope). I think Eisenhower as a man is tip top, but as President, he is tip top for Wall St. Yet he is not as bad as his party.

W. B. Butler

Public power

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

In a courteous acknowledgement of receipt of my GUARDIAN series on Nebraska's public power program, Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee writes that he does not believe in "government monopoly of the generation of electricity from the atom" and that, in his opinion, "there is room and need for both public and private power to serve the growing needs of the U. S."

Surely, this is unsafe ground for any one battling for expansion of public power. There can be no justification for private profit anywhere in this field, which by its very nature is a monopoly area. Power, at the base of all industry—whether that power be derived from internal combustion, fall of water, or the split atom—is in no proper sense "private industry". Yet it stands today (outside public ownership territory) an arbitrary special-interest toll against the entire economy.

Is there any sound reason why New England should be in the grip of the power trust and suffering the dire effects of private monopoly rates and constriction of industry, while the Tennessee Valley, Nebraska and Los Angeles go free?

A government that can spend billions in experimentation and clearing the way for the peaceful use of atomic energy can also spend what is necessary to capitalize both generation and distribution of this energy at cost to the people.

Anyway, there can be no argument against Senator Gore's proposed six Federally owned and operated nuclear reactor plants.

Reuben W. Borough

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

A Hungarian refugee plans to dive into Lake Huron near the Blue Water bridge early Sunday morning to start what he hopes will be a record Great Lakes swim to Belle Isle.

Why does he want to swim from Lake Huron to Belle Isle? It's simple—he says. "I want to show the people in my Communist-dominated country that anything is possible in America."

Detroit News, 9/6

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: H.B., Detroit. Be sure to send original clip (with date) of each entry.

Guard of Honor

PAHOKEE, FLA.

The **Appeal to Reason** had its "Red Army." That color is taboo today, but why not a "Red, White and Blue Army"? The **Appeal's** army was 4,000 of its readers, to whom the old **Appeal** said, "We need $20,000 at once!" and each of the 4,000 sent a five spot. And not maybe—the five was a sure-comer from each.

Could not 4,000 of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN readers form a "Red, White and Blue Army"?

You will belong to a guard of Honor.

R. E. Boe

Fyke Farmer's work

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

Our government is viciously persecuting all critics of Truman's rape of Korea. The Powells-Schuman harassment is the latest outrage. There is however one intrepid man that holds the government Ku Kluxers at bay. Attorney Fyke Farmer has pending a court injunction against U. S. tax collector to compel him to help finance the Korean crime.

Mr. Farmer has done monumental research work, pauperizing himself by investing literally thousands of hours of his time in this patriotic work. His comprehensive research is establishing beyond all doubt that the U. S. outrage in Korea is as foul a capitalist conspiracy as anything that Hitler had ever done. To keep him at this noble task he certainly deserves support from people who are opposed to the NAZIFICATION of our country.

Fyke Farmer's address is: 300 W. Bellevue Dr., Nashville 5, Tenn.

Vincent Noga

A little caution

DESMOINES, IOWA

I've had the feeling that the left wing press has in recent weeks been too critical of Soviet leaders in view of the fact that they were so uncritical in the past. If Stalin was such a monster, why was he so highly praised? I know we weren't informed of his misdeeds, but wouldn't it have been better not to adulate him so much in life and thus make it necessary to condemn him after death? Anyhow, a newspaper is supposed to know the facts and inform its readers. It seems that the left wing so often goes to extremes of admiration and disapprobation of the same individual when his "sins" are revealed. A little caution on our part, and it wouldn't be necessary to make embarrassing admissions of complicity.

Marjorie Parris

N.Y. Herald Tribune

"With steel prices up we no longer have lower overhead from our plain pipe racks."

Talks on religion

BELLE GLADE, FLA.

Referring to G. J. Greene's appeal for "public talks on religion"—I'm against this! For religion is a personal matter—most people inherited theirs from their parents. But when any religion tries to get control of our way of life, then it's time to get busy and see they don't!

France Lyngholm

A starter

HARTFORD, WIS.

It is possible that the word "religion" and the word "creed" need proper definition. Religion is universal. Creed is sectional. Religion is total. Creeds are partial. Religion is tolerant. Creeds are intolerant.

The religionist says there is a God and a Creator because there is a creation, an earth and a universe. The anti-religionist agrees that there is the earth, the universe and creation including male and female, but no God.

A new-born babe first discovers the universe. Secondly it discovers itself. Then it tries to discover something else. It probably comes in the form of a question. Who made me and all this that I observe?

The religionist says a Creator created it. The opposition says no, there is no God or a creator. Now who is there that has the final word on that subject? Certainly not I.

A. C. Stracka

Hooray for U.S.A.!

HONOLULU, T. H.

In answer to your question in connection with Melvin Bloom's letter (Aug. 20) I say Yes, let's have a United Socialist Assn.! If we, the progressive forces of the United States, ever expect to reach the people with our message (and eventually the White House) this is the only way. Hooray for the man with the idea! Hooray for the GUARDIAN's willingness to vanguard the idea.

L. H.

A friendly voice

OAKLAND, CALIF.

I am enclosing $10 to help in your financial drive. The GUARDIAN in these past years has been like a friendly voice in the wilderness of red-baiting, war hysteria and suppression of civil rights. We must not lose it but make it stronger than ever.

Earl B. Phillips

THE DISSATISFACTION IS PROFOUND

Big shift in farm vote to Democrats is predicted

By Lawrence Emery

EARLY THIS SPRING the Midwest farm belt—which can decide a close Presidential election—was ablaze with revolt (GUARDIAN, April 9, June 4). New organizations were springing up all across the Great Plains. (One, the Nat'l Farmers Organization, has since mushroomed to more than 150,000 members). All of them wanted 100% parity. Some wanted new solutions to old problems, like direct collective bargaining with processors. Others wanted direct affiliation with the labor movement.

This big stirring frightened a number of politicians in both parties because it was (1) by-passing all the old established farm organizations; (2) showing a final lack of faith in farm programs concocted in Washington, and (3) seeking new and novel forms of action. The family farmer not only wanted to stay on the land, he wanted to make a living at it, too. The thumping primary victories scored by Estes Kefauver indicated the depth and strength of the rebellion.

THE BIG SQUEEZE

N. Y. Times chart shows prices received and prices paid by farmers since March, 1955. Index of prices received fell from 244 in July to 237 in mid-August. Prices paid increased a point to 288. Base is 1910-14 average.

THEY'RE WORKING: Since then not a great deal has been heard from the Plains states, but the answer to that is simple: the farmer has been at work; until the crops are in, some of them put in 16 hours a day. Early in June an **AP** farm reporter summed up his conclusions after a Midwest tour: "Talk of a farm revolt is mostly just talk, mostly from Democratic politicians."

But on July 28 **Labor's Daily,** which is published in Iowa, reported that a survey it had conducted "indicates that the men who led and spoke for the farm revolt are in complete agreement: Washington and the nation haven't heard the last of farmer dissatisfaction."

Most farmers talked to were not entranced by Ezra Taft Benson; they didn't like the Republican collapsible price support program; the cost-price squeeze was getting tighter; many in Iowa and Nebraska were badly hit by this summers' long drought. None of them thought too much of Eisenhower's soil bank plan; Ralph Bradley, President of the Illinois Farmers Union said: "The farmer's not so dumb that he'll be lulled to sleep by a few government dollars. The soil bank is not a solid program, and farm people know it."

BIG SHIFT IS SEEN: The labor paper reported that Bill Barnes, secy. of the Nat'l Farmers Organization, "expects farmers to turn away from traditional voting patterns this fall." Most of the primary contests in the Farm Belt indicated this; Iowa itself rolled up the biggest Democratic vote in years. A July poll by **Wallace's Farmer** showed the Eisenhower popularity slipping: of those questioned, 49% were for the President, 32% for Stevenson, and 19% undecided. Since the nomination of Kefauver, who is popular with farmers, this ratio has shifted in favor of the Democrats.

A more recent survey conducted by **Labor's Daily** led it to report on Sept. 8 that "a majority of Iowa farmers will undoubtedly vote for the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket in November."

Oren Staley, president of the NFO, is even more emphatic and has predicted that the Republicans will lose Iowa, Minnesota and Missouri and that the Democratic vote in Kansas and Nebraska "will be higher than it has ever been in the past."

DOWN TO THE WALLOW: Stevenson himself is not popular with farmers; he failed to carry a single farm state in 1952. Just before the Democratic convention, Staley told newsmen: "If Adlai Stevenson is nominated, we are going to have to take him down to a hog wallow and roll him around in the mud until he looks, smells and talks like a farmer."

The farm plank as adopted by the Democrats shows that the mistrust is well-founded. The **N. Y. Times** reported on Aug. 12: "Democratic planners wrote into the farm plank today subsidy proposals that smacked of the Brannan Plan."

(The Brannan Plan, proposed by Harry Truman's Secy. of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan, would let farm products sell in the open market with the government making up in cash payments the difference between what the farmer received and full parity. It was rejected by Congress in 1949.)

Two days later the **Times** reported: "Conservative Democratic farm leaders scored a major victory today as the Democratic platform drafters tossed Brannan Plan proposals out of a farm plank."

MISHMASH OF GADGETS: The **Times** went on to report that the plank as adopted "follows the views of Adlai E. Stevenson. . . . It cut down the Nat'l Farmers Union, whose chief counsel is Charles F. Brannan."

Brannan himself on Sept. 12 went down to defeat in his bid for the Democratic nomination for Senator from Colorado.

Although the Democratic farm plank promises to "undertake . . . to endeavor" to achieve 100% parity, its actual proposals are a mishmash of what the Democratic chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee himself once described as "gadgets." The plank says:

"We will achieve this [100% of parity] by means of supports on basic commodities at 90% of parity and by means of commodity loans, direct purchases, direct payments to producers, marketing agreements and orders, production adjustments or a combination of these, including legislation, to bring order and stability into the relationship between the producer, the processor and the consumer."

It also promises to "develop practical measures for extending price supports to feed grains and other non-basic storables and to producers of perishable commodities such as meat, poultry, dairy products and the like."

GOP ON THE RECORD: When Stevenson on Sept. 8 made his first major farm speech in Columbus, O., it was obvious that he still didn't look, smell or talk like a farmer. He paid traditional tribute to the family farms as "the roots of the nation" but his talk was as vague and contradictory as his party's plank itself.

As for the Republicans, they were standing on their record of scuttling 90% price supports and were sticking with Ezra Benson. The Madison Wis., **Capital Times** thought it had an explanation for this last April when it wrote:

"President Eisenhower's veto of the farm bill providing for 90% support prices indicates that the Republicans are confident that they can lose the farm vote and still get elected next November."

At their convention the Republicans boasted of increasing farm prosperity, but as they spoke the government was releasing figures showing that prices received by farmers declined another 3% between mid-July and mid-August and that the parity index (showing what the farmer pays out) rose a point in the same period. The squeeze was getting tighter and it didn't appear that there would be any slackening in the farm revolt come Fall.

Herblock in Washington Post

"Nah, that's not a candidate—that's a farmer."

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Editorial on the elections

(Continued from Page 1)

Baldwin said that what Stevenson and Kefauver do, and the positions they take on the issues of today will, in large measure, depend on the "pressures exerted by the decent elements of the Democratic Party and progressives. . . ." This means—or should mean—that if the Democrats want and need your vote badly enough, they should be willing to pay for it in terms of good public positions, honestly taken, on the issues that you deem important.

OUR PRIMARY ISSUES, as campaigning progressives and as thinking journalists, have been these:

- Peace in the world with guarantees for the right of socialist countries to be socialist and of colonial countries to be free.
- The right to a decent-paying job and social security for all Americans.
- Civil rights and civil liberties for all Americans—meaning an end to the insane witch-hunt which has robbed thousands of Americans of their jobs, happiness and freedom; and an end to second class citizenship (and worse) for 15,000,000 Negro Americans.

If Stevenson and Kefauver are indeed free to yield to pressure, then acceptable positions on these issues should be the price of the progressive vote. Is that too high a price to ask? If it is, then why do we fight for these things?

We agree in principle with the Beat-Nixon slogan, much as we would support a Swat-the-Fly campaign. But we counsel against letting fear of Nixon create a stampede into the Democratic camp.

Nixon's most ardent backers are in fact the same forces which control the Republican Party and have controlled it for the last four years. During this time the nation has not deteriorated from the Truman brand of government, which was bad enough. The Nixon faction has been content to live with General Eisenhower's policies—a fact which is significant in itself. Their main fight has been with the White House Guard for control of the Republican Party, not over national or international policy.

Indeed, for many, the threat of Nixon in the event of his succession to the Presidency is no more ominous than the certainty of Dixiecrat domination of Congress in the event of a Democratic Congressional majority.

We counsel against the elaborate self-deception necessary to plump wholeheartedly for the Democrats or to subscribe uncritically to the Beat-Nixon enthusiasms.

THE ABSENCE of progressive organizations—so unfortunately dismantled since 1952—hampers the job; but it is not impossible for groups of individuals to gather to make demands and lobby local candidates and leaders for these demands. If the candidate goes along with them, that's what you wanted. If he does not, you have at least engaged in real action for a real program—and have created what can grow into a permanent organization.

This is the way W. E. B. DuBois sees it and the way Harry Bridges and his Intl. Longshoremen's Union see it—and it is no sense negative. The whole purpose of a campaign is to get people in motion for worthwhile objectives. Support of a bad program is not a worthwhile objective. And demanding assurance on program in return for your vote is not bad politics; rather, it is the only winning politics. Especially where the vote is close.

ANY CAMPAIGN SEASON is, by hallowed tradition, the radical's best chance to reach people with the most demonstrable truths that there is really little to choose between the two old-party camps and that something ought to be done about it.

A campaign conducted in this tradition could create the beginnings, in 1956, for fresh and encompassing coalitions in communities all over America to compel American politics in the future to meet the needs and the wants of the people.

THE EDITORS

CIVIL RIGHTS IS NO. 1 FOR HIM

How the Negro voter feels about 1956

By Eugene Gordon

THE 10 MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES OF 1956—a pamphlet the Democratic Natl. Committee published months before the convention—did not include civil rights. Even then, however, the Natl. Committee was looking for "trends" toward Democrats or Republicans among Negro voters.

Whether or not these facts prompted it, a meeting of 30 Negro and white civic fraternal, trade union, religious and other organizations in Washington last spring formed the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Its declared purpose was to define "civil rights" for the Democratic and Republican platform committees. The definition finally agreed on and offered as a plank to the two parties provided for:

Herblock in Washington Post

"After all, it's only been a couple of years since the Supreme Court decision."

(1) enforcement of U. S. Supreme Court anti-segregation decisions; (2) laws against mob violence; (3) protection of the right to vote; (4) a Federal fair employment practice law; (5) revision of Senate Rule 22 to curb filibusters; (6) Congressional committee chairmen selected "for merit and party responsibility" and not only for seniority.

PRE-FABRICATED: If the donkey made an ass of himself with the pamphlet, he was smarter—but not smart enough—at convention time. These things, according to Baltimore **Afro-American** correspondent Louis E. Lomax (8/25), had happened in the interval: (1) Stephen Mitchell, former chairman of the Democratic Natl. Committee, had conferred with Dixiecrat leaders on a compromise civil rights plank; (2) Northern and Southern Democrats had agreed on a draft least likely to "offend" the Dixiecrats; (3) following an exchange of letters between Southern and Northern Democrats, Mitchell, six weeks before the convention, wrote out what had been agreed on in principle. The Democratic party platform at Chicago had been so carefully carpentered that the neat little pre-fabricated civil rights plank slid easily into place.

Events since Chicago should have taught the donkey he's still not smart enough if he believes that the trend among Negroes to the Democrats, sparked by Franklin D. Roosevelt's social welfare program—but which veered to Mr. Eisenhower in 1952—will automatically turn to Adlai E. Stevenson in 1956. Stevenson seemed to think so when he hinted, in a Chicago **Defender** interview last month, that the Negro voter had nowhere else to go.

And if the elephant believes that Negro voters credit all civil rights gains to the Eisenhower Administration, his memory is shorter than is traditionally supposed. Negro political leaders point out, for instance, that neither the Republican nor the Democratic party abolished jimcrow in Dist. of Columbia restaurants and theaters; that Washingtonians, led by the late Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, their own lawyers, and the NAACP fought and won in the local Federal courts.

The only trend Negroes have shown to date as a potential voting bloc is a tendency to agree that, for them, the main issue is civil rights.

AGAINST SMITH ACT TOO: Nor does that imply Negro indifference to civil liberties—freedom of speech, press, assembly and religion as defined by the Bill of Rights. The Negro press has widely reprinted an editorial from the Los Angeles **Herald-Dispatch** (Negro), based on Montgomery's invoking an old anti-labor law to break the Alabama bus protest movement. The editorial said that "just as anti-Negro laws have been used against white workers, so have anti-labor laws been used, when the occasion permits, against the Negro people." It went on:

"If the Smith Act is permitted to remain on the statute books, it will be only a matter of time before [Miss.] Sen. Eastland and other white supremacists in high government position seek to throttle the militant Negro press and outlaw the NAACP and other Negro organizations active in the fight for Negro freedom and integration. Therefore it is incumbent on the Negro people and our organizations to actively oppose all attempts to curb the constitutional rights and privileges of any segment of our population."

90 PLUS 10: However, civil rights is the main concern of Negro voters in this election—civil rights stated in amendments to the Federal Constitution and in state and Federal laws to protect each person's freedom against attacks by other persons.

Negroes are still marching in the crusade proclaimed by the NAACP on New Year's day, 1953. Their battle cry is still "Ninety Years Plus 10 Equals Freedom!" They still insist that the end of the century since Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation should be the dawn of true freedom. They reason that the Executive and Legislative arms of the government they will help to elect in November could —by fully supporting the Judicial arm —give them the strength needed to reach the dawn. Otherwise, it seems, the night will never end.

That is why Negroes almost unanimously reject the "moderation" doctrine. The **AP** reported that "a N.Y. Negro . . . Archbishop C. C. Addison" had told Southern reporters he believed "the only proper way to live in peace is in segregation." But that declaration was countered by an **Afro** editorial: "Brother Addison may actually believe this, but we doubt it. We are inclined to think he is talking purely for Dixie white consumption and fatter collection plates."

ANGRY UNMODERATES: A N.Y. **Amsterdam News** editorial (8/25) reflected general Negro feeling against their own Rep. Dawson (D-Ill.) because he supported the "moderate" Democratic civil rights plank. The paper said Negroes "have no time for a man, be he black or white, who will join our ranks and then knife us in the back while we stand and face the enemy." N.Y. Negro Democratic leaders recently were said to have warned Stevenson not to speak in Harlem until Negro voters' anger at the "moderate" civil rights plank had cooled.

Memphis World

Greatest ventriloquist act of the century

Rev. Martin Luther King, Montgomery anti-jimcrow bus-protest leader, was enthusiastically applauded at the recent 47th annual NAACP convention when he said that if "moderation" means slowing the move toward freedom, it "is a tragic vice which all men of good will must condemn . . . because we love America and the democratic way of life [and because] if democracy is to live segregation must die."

The U.S. Negro's fear that his country's democratic institutions may be lost to all Americans was voiced in the San Francisco **Sun-Reporter's** demand that "the scalpel of civil rights be applied to the cancerous growth [of segregation and discrimination] eating at the vitals of our nation." The paper saw a section of the U.S. which "for the past 90 years . . . enforced more segregation, greater denial of the vote, and more inequality upon its Negro citizens" as indifferent to the fact that "a cancer treated with moderation leads eventually to one certain end —to the death of the patient."

CONGRESS ANOMALY: Negro delegates carried to both conventions their anger and resentment at Congress' laying blame for the death of the school-aid bill on the Powell anti-discrimination amendment—and then handling civil rights legislation in a farcical manner. Angry and disgusted for so long allowing themselves to be used by the two parties, Negroes are beginning to look into what Howard University Prof. Emmett Dorsey in the Pittsburgh **Courier** (8/11) calls "a basic contradictory and anomalous condition of the national Congress."

True, a 70-80% Negro Democratic vote since 1936 has decided Presidential elections; but it is also true that concentrations of Negro voters in Northern and Western cities are largely responsible for the anti-civil rights and anti-social welfare set-up in Congress. For—and this is the bitterest truth—as NAACP public relations director Henry Lee Moon explains, "the Dixiecrats owe their chairmanships not only to their seniority and the disfranchisement of the Negroes in their constituencies, but also to Northern Negroes whose vote has contributed substantially to Democratic majorities in Congressional elections."

THE DEAL: The Dixiecrat-GOP tieup came about like this. The Presidential contest between Republican Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrat Samuel J. Tilden in 1876 was thrown into Congress. Republicans were winning, but filibustering Democrats blocked victory. Opponents finally made the deal that Hayes' first Presidential act would be (according to Paul L. Howarth's **Reconstruction and Union**) "to withdraw the troops [protecting the Reconstruction governments] and allow [them] to totter and fall." Federal troops were withdrawn; the progenitors of today's Dixiecrats took over. Today's deal calls for Dixiecrat Congressmen to oppose such social welfare legislation as reactionary Republicans abhor while the Republicans oppose—or take a passive attitude toward—civil rights measures.

The civil rights plank of neither platform satisfies Negro voters. The Democrats "recognize" the high court decisions, the Republicans "accept" them, and neither endorses them. The GOP promise to support President Eisenhower's civil rights proposals remains just words so long as Congressional legislative deeds hinge upon the GOP-Dixiecrat coalition, regardless of any President's recommendation.

INDEPENDENCE BY '60: The **AP** (9/11) quoted Harlem's Democratic Rep. Adam Clayton Powell in Belgrade as saying a "sizeable percentage of Negroes is ready to register a protest vote in favor of the Republicans." He predicted Mr. Eisenhower's reelection with N.Y. State Republican Atty. Gen. Javits defeating N.Y.C. Democratic Mayor Wagner for the Senate seat vacated by Sen. Lehman. (Powell's desertion to the Republicans has long been hinted owing to his supposed dissatisfaction with the Democrats' moderate attitude toward civil rights.) But a recent Gallup poll indicates that "Northern Negroes will go heavily Democratic in this November's election."

Amsterdam News, N.Y.

The **Reporter** magazine (9/6) quoted NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins as saying, after the Republican convention, that Negro delegates he had talked with were so "tremendously disappointed" with the civil rights plank—in spite of its "slight edge" over the Democrats'—that he believed the GOP had lost "thousands of Negroes all over the country [who had been] ready to jump to them." The road "was wide open for the Republicans and they missed it."

Natl. Baptist Convention pres. J. H. Jackson, half of whose 4,000,000 members are registered voters, spoke for increasing numbers willing to contradict Stevenson's belief that the Democratic Party is the best Negroes can hope for. Dr. Johnson avoided even hinting at a trend in his prediction of wholesale desertions in protest against both civil rights planks. But he hoped to see by 1960 a noticeable swing in the direction of a Negro-labor coalition with "third-party" intentions.

Symbol of intolerance

The following communication appeared in the letters column of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch *on Sept. 6, 1956:*

LONDON

Nearly 20 years ago I heard Paul Robeson sing in London and ever since there has been a soft spot in my heart for America and for Negro America in particular.

I mention this because Robeson and President Eisenhower are probably the two living Americans who are most widely known and most generally respected among my fellow countrymen.

You people may not like this. Perhaps you can scarcely believe it. Judging by the way Robeson is prevented from singing or acting, barred from the recordings, denied the right to travel abroad and persecuted by investigating committees, your opinion of him is very different from ours.

But why not face the facts: Here is a world figure, as a man, a singer and a representative of colored humanity. His freedom to sing and speak would be to the world a symbol of America's decency and tolerance. Paradoxically, by enforcing his silence you allow him to cry out that America's aim to stand for freedom is a fraud.

Even many abroad who are well-disposed to your country feel bound to ask: Is your way of life so insecure that it can be endangered by the voice of one man?

PETER TEMPEST

VINCENT HALLINAN ON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

America needs a united Left to work towards socialism

The following article first appeared in a debate on the 1956 elections published in the Sept. 7 issue of the Daily People's World *of San Francisco. The author was the candidate for President of the Progressive Party in 1952.*

SAN FRANCISCO

THE NATIONAL Convention of the Republican and Democratic Parties ended in results which could have been pretty closely predicted a long time ago. Of course, it was always possible that other persons might have been selected to carry out the policies of these parties but the differences between such prospective candidates would have been unimportant. Some months back, I believed that the Democrats would nominate Harriman and that the Republicans might drop Nixon. Apparently, the Democratic party machine did favor the New York Governor and some Republican politicos felt that Nixon might cost them votes. The innocent will believe that Stevenson's selection indicates a "revolt" of liberal forces against the machine and a reproach to Truman's obvious contempt for the processes of the primary election system. Such persons are seeking consolation where none exists. There are no oases in the howling desert which these worthies are now traversing.

The liberal and left wing forces in the United States have completed the circle commenced in 1952 when the "Lesser of Two Evils" led them from the rock of principle to the morass of expediency. In the field of foreign policy, they now agree that Eisenhower is the lesser of the two evils. In the domestic field they can cast Stevenson in that role only by summoning up the ghost of FDR. As a matter of fact, the domestic policies of the two parties are practically indistinguishable. Their platforms repeat the promises of other years, without apology for prior betrayals. Neither attempts to mask its cynicism with regard to the issue of civil rights. Both, however, have reversed their historic role with regard to tariffs—the Democrats becoming the party of protectionism, and the Republicans of comparative free trade. The Democrats promise to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, which could not have been passed without the vigorous aid of Democratic congressmen over Truman's politically motivated veto. Both pretend that they may endanger the interests of the great oil companies by supporting Israel against the Arabs.

The present situation exemplifies as well as any previous period has done the observation made by a French observer some 60 or 70 years ago, that these two parties are exactly alike, resembling each other as two bottles from the same mold—both empty!

As regards the activities of left wing and liberal elements in the country, at least the most vocal among them appear to be tying themselves to the Democratic Party chariot. By a process of energetic self-hypnosis, they conceive this to be the party of possible progress. The argument is that the greater part of the working people are "in" the Democratic Party. By this they mean that the Democratic Party is able to induce more workers to vote for its candidates than the Republican Party can coax into voting for its. It is thought that, by some infiltrative process, the liberal forces can "push" the Democratic Party in the right direction. They, therefore, allow themselves to be exploited, selling cookies, collecting rags and ringing doorbells for the organization which initiated and brought to its fiercest expression the current witchhunt, which started and maintained the ruinous and dishonorable war in Korea

VINCENT HALLINAN
The howling desert is not for him

and which rests upon two broad pillars of reaction—the Southern white supremacists and the politico-ecclesiastic machines in the Northern cities.

BACK in 1948 newcomers to the liberal movement were persuaded that the Progressive Party was being formed principally for the reason that there was no hope that liberal elements could control the policies of the Democratic Party. At that time, although Franklin Roosevelt was dead, the Democratic Party was still trailing filaments of his glory and many of the liberals who had accompanied him into the Government were still in power. It was further revealed that the American Labor Party of New York had been created at the behest of Franklin Roosevelt because he himself despaired of holding the Democratic Party to a liberal program.

If such things were true at that time, how much more true are they today!

At least the left wing people who will waste their time and energies on behalf of the Democratic Party candidates will not have to eat crow after next November. Truman's political foresight will be best illustrated in his prophecy that Stevenson will not carry as many states as he did in 1952. In the first place, the country is in a period of apparent prosperity. The mounting inflation has not yet brought on its inevitable consequences. In the second place, the Democrats are rightly regarded as the "war party." At least Eisenhower is a soldier and he knows that the United States cannot lick half the world. Moreover, he's an old and sick soldier without ambitions for further military adventure. The Democrats have not yet found out that the American people want no more war. They have provided the Republicans with an irresistible slogan: "Everything is Booming but the Guns."

Liberals and Progressives who have drifted back into the Democratic Party have as much chance of directing its policies as one who is swallowed by a whale has of altering its course. The conflict between socialism and capitalism will ultimately sharpen to the point where it is recognized that there is no middle ground. It's about time that the left wing people in the United States came to the realization that the contest is between public ownership and private ownership of those things which are necessary to the well-being and comfort of all. While it is necessary to strike blows for other causes, it is folly to lose sight of the main issue and to lose it by default.

THE GREAT NECESSITY in America is for a united front of left wing forces which will unite to educate, inform and lead the American people toward a socialist solution of the dilemmas which confront us. Once this is gained, the other problems, practically all of which have an economic base, will resolve themselves.

Every opportunity, then, should be taken advantage of to give support and encouragement to such forces, regardless of their divisive differences. It is a mistake not to vote, and it is worse than a mistake to vote for either the Republican or the Democratic Party candidates. A positive advantage can be gained by aiding those who sacrifice their effort and time to carry the banners of the Left. It is high time that political organizations on that side of the fence stopped carping at each other and sought common bases within the field which all are defending. Their mutual recriminations, based principally upon names and slogans which have lost their meaning, should be relegated to the Museum of Political Factionalism.

I am personally urging that as high a vote as can be mustered be given to Mr. Farrell Dobbs, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

I believe that the groundwork should now be laid for a united front of this and other left wing forces in an attempt to capture some offices in 1958 and to launch a national ticket in 1960.

—Vincent Hallinan

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A LONG, HOPELESS WAR—OR A FAIR PEACE?

The situation in Algeria—and the link to the crisis over Suez

ALTHOUGH the French press has for the most part suppressed authentic reports about the war in Algeria, there is evidence that the Algerian independence forces have recently expanded their activities with considerable success.

In a remarkably candid article in the conservative Paris newspaper **Le Figaro** last month former Minister Resident in Algeria Jacques Soustelle wrote: "The rebellion has greatly extended its scope . . . Last February not a single rifle shot had been heard in the greater part of Oranie; in the districts of Medea, Miliana or Orleansville; in the Setif area or in southern territories. Today the ferment has spread to all these areas [and] they are swarming with rebels."

The Algerian situation has become so serious for France that even those government members in Paris who have supported the present Minister Resident Robert Lacoste's program of "pacification" began to express doubts. Even more remarkable was the turnabout of Marshal Juin, spokesman for the diehard French colonials. Faced by "the continuing ability of the rebel forces to maintain themselves in the field against more than 450,000 French soldiers" (N. Y. **Times**, 8/28), Juin sharply attacked the "retrograde conservatism" of the government's colonial policy. He proposed a broad French federation including the colonies, "the federal tie coming into play only for those questions concerning the economy, foreign relations and security."

Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

The unequivocal position of the military.

It was doubtful, however, if the Algerian nationalists would be willing to negotiate their future ties with France without first securing Algerian independence. In an interview (8/30) with **N. Y. Herald Tribune** correspondent Barrett McGurn in Cairo, Mohammed Kheidar, former Algerian member of the Paris Assembly (now in political asylum in Egypt), said that the Algerian revolution is too weak to drive the nearly half-a-million-man French military force into the Mediterranean, but it is too strong itself ever to be suppressed. Only if France grants Algeria independence, Kheidar asserted, "100,000 questions—economic, cultural, technical, strategic, political—can be negotiated at France's will."

The London **New Statesman and Nation's** Paris correspondent reported (9/1) that the military was trying to impress on Lacoste that "a modern army is impotent before a guerrilla force which is backed by the civilian population." The dispatch said that although the French government understands well enough the total failure of its present Algerian policy, "it is completely bereft of new ideas . . . There remains one single slender chance of salvation: Suez."

The correspondent added: "A war against Egypt would allow public opinion to be distracted from Algeria and might eventually create (in the event of a victory) a new set of conditions in N. Africa."

In the light of Kheidar's statement about the strength and the weakness of the Algerian revolutionary forces, the following dispatch by GUARDIAN correspondent Anne Bauer in Paris is illuminating.

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

In a small French town a young draftee for service in Algeria is on his way to the railroad station, with hundreds of fellow townspeople accompanying him. At the station, 14 truck-loads of CRS—the tough police used to break up strikes—are waiting to make sure only the soldier gets on the train. . . .

- In another small town, the local police quietly "kidnaps" two draftees from their homes and escorts them to the station, five miles away. Half the town is already there, immobilizing the train for 40 minutes, shouting "Peace in Algeria!" . . .
- As the body of a young soldier is returned for burial to his native town near Paris, 3,000 persons—over half the adult population—follow the coffin. . . .
- A great many "demoralizers of the army and the nation," guilty of asking for peace in Algeria, await trial. Many more —farmers, school teachers, workers, Communists, Socialists, progressives and other people of good will—are in prison for similar reasons.

THE PEOPLE KNOW: These events show the worry, the internal contradictions as well as the deterioration brought on by a complex and difficult problem. More importantly, they show that public opinion here has become acutely aware of the urgency of the Algerian problem.

Meanwhile, what has been happening among the Algerian people these past few weeks? Although it is difficult to take the pulse of a people largely engaged in underground activities, the following picture emerges on the basis of persistent reports:

Messali Hadj and his MNA (Mouvement National Algerien) are trying for a powerful comeback in Algeria. Messali, founder of the Parti Populaire Algerien before World War II and president of the MTLD (Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertes Democratiques) had by far the largest political following in Algeria after the war. When the MTLD split in two in 1954, Messali and his MNA continued to predominate among the Algerian workers in France but lost out to the FLN (Front de Liberation Nationale) —led by Fehrat Abbas—in Algeria. The balance of strength seems to have changed in favor of the Messalists lately. When a Messalist leader was recently murdered in the Algiers Casbah, 3,000 people attended his burial.

IT'S NOT INDO-CHINA: The FLN and the MNA have recently been decimating each other to a staggering extent—the victims being generally Messalists. The difference between the two movements cannot be defined in Western terms of "left" and "right." (Algeria is not Indo-China and has produced no one comparable to Ho Chi Minh for political background and ideas or personal weight.)

The Messalists appear more strongly entrenched among workers, the FLN among the intellectuals. The MNA puts politics first; the FLN says the fight for freedom has priority over party differences. However, both stress independence or self-determination before negotiations with Paris. The FLN recently attempted to form a united front with the MNA, but Messali balked. But there have been increasing moves toward unity from the bottom up, and there are no local wars now between the FLN and MNA.

Observers believe that the common fight for freedom will eventually unite the two movements, as it will speed up a consciousness of national unity among the people.

BULLETS BEFORE REFORM: While changes are taking place among the Algerian people, action by the French administration for the betterment of the people has been only on paper. In the seven months since Lacoste became Minister Resident, reactionary civil servants have continued to hold their jobs while those in the administration and in the teaching profession working for Franco-Algerian reconciliation, have been imprisoned or quietly transferred to Paris.

Social and administrative reforms decreed by Paris—such as the decree calling for the splitting up of over-sized farms —have been quietly shelved.

But military action has been stepped up, inevitably increasing terrorism on the Algerian side, continuing a vicious circle of cruelty and hatred becoming more violent and tenacious with each day.

Mendes-France and a group of Socialists have pressed for less shooting and faster reforms. "Force will be powerless," Mendes-France warned, "and negotiation lost before it is started, if we have against us an entire people deeply convinced that we are its enemies, and that its well-being can only come from our departure."

SOCIALISTS SPLIT: At the recent Socialist Party Congress, a minority group headed by Daniel Mayer and Andre Philip called for a cease-fire now and a clear definition of how peace can be reestablished. If the Socialist government prolongs the war, the Socialist Party will be in serious danger of cutting itself off from many of its own militant members.

The majority of the French people hope for an early, peaceful, fair and honest settlement, taking into account the Algerian viewpoint as well as that of the million non-colonialist Europeans living in Algeria for generations.

If Paris insists on continuing the shooting, the result will be: (1) a long and hopeless war that will eat up French resources in lives and material wealth; (2) a stronger vote in the UN Assembly in November condemning French action (the UN Asian-African group decided last week to bring up the Algerian issue at the forthcoming General Assembly session); (3) greater Moroccan and Tunisian support for Algerian independence, which might upset their own agreement with France; or, (4) a superficial military victory solving nothing, terrorism and hatred ruling out indefinitely confidence and collaboration between Europeans and Algerians.

Carrefour, Paris

THE JUNK MAN

The odd thrupence

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

ONCE UPON A TIME a group of Englishmen with striped pants, bowler hats and rolled umbrellas formed the Trinidad Oil Company. For five shillings apiece they distributed among themselves shares entitling them and their heirs and assigns forever to the profits on the oil produced by the obscure, dark-skinned men without striped pants who live in Trinidad.

On Sept. 4, 1956, company chairman Simon J. Vos stood before 150 of the 16,000 shareholders assembled in a bleak room in the City of London. "Never," he said, "in the 30-odd years of my experience have I experienced anything like the competition in the oil industry. No quarter is being shown." The direction from which no quarter was being shown was a far richer and more powerful striped-pants group called the Texas Oil Company. Mr. Vos saw no alternative to selling out to Texas Oil.

THE HOUND'S TOOTH: It was sad when the great ship went down, but it could have been sadder. Before the Texas "offer" Trinidad shares had stood at 41s. 6d. but the deal was for 80s. 3d. each, provided that Texas could get 90% of the shares. Only one shareholder objected. He was a Col. Gardiner, "late of the Bengal Lancers." He was not wearing striped pants but a not-quite-vulgar hound's-tooth sports suit and butterfly bow-tie.

"The Texas Company," he said, "would not have wanted to purchase the company had not they visualized very vast profits from the deal." Admiring his gallant spirit, the other shareholders sighed at the thought of the very vast profits but shrugged their shouders impotently.

Lord Bailleu, who was properly dressed, was in generous mood despite the cloud that hung over the gathering. He rose to suggest that "for past services" Mr. Vos should be presented with £50,000, tax free. Only the hound's-toothed arm of Col. Gardiner was lifted in objection. "Without hostility," he said, "I oppose this magnificent tip."

THERE WAS SILENCE: The men in striped pants looked coldly at the Colonel and approved the £50,000 for Mr. Vos and the 80s. 3d. a share for themselves. Then the tremulous voice of Sir Arthur Watson, 74-year-old retired civil servant, was heard. There was a ghastly silence as he reminded the gathering of the existence of the little white-skinned clerks who added up the figures and the obscure dark-skinned striped-pantless men who produced the oil. "We should," he said, "set up a fund for employes other than Mr. Vos."

"How much?" asked the first shareholder to find his voice.

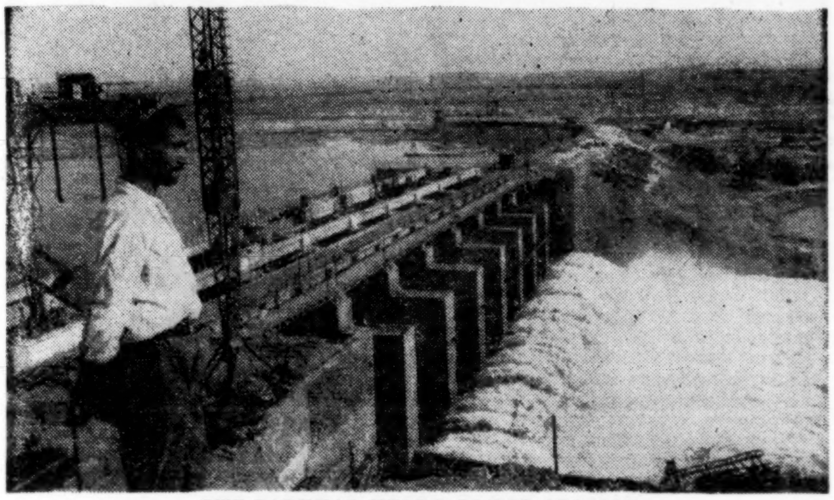
"I thought the odd 3d. a share."

The motion to give "the odd threepence"—a total of £196,000—to the "other employes" was defeated when only three of the 150 voted in favor. Sadly the order was given to mail out the £63,000,000 melon to Trinidad shareholders, to each according to his work in collecting and clipping coupons. The corpse of Trinidad Oil was laid to rest as another night fell on the hub of the greatest empire the world has ever known. And across the ocean the obscure striped-pantless men labored on, bringing up the oil for their new masters.

—Cedric Belfrage

THE HUNGRY STEPPE IS BEING TRANSFORMED

Soviet Asia—the land and the people



THE FARKHAD HYDRO POWER STATION
An ancient legend of love comes to life in arid Uzbekistan

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

(Last of a series)

ALMA ATA, KAZAKHSTAN

"THIS IS THE LAND OF THE FUTURE," a Ukrainian agronomist said as we lurched in his indestructible Pobeda car across mud holes, ditches and streams of a huge collective farm on the Kazakhstan plain. "It is a beautiful and rich country. I'm happy I made up my mind to come here." The phrase, "land of the future," is the refrain of Kazakhstan, a Republic as large as Argentina, with immensely rich mineral and land resources.

Kazakhstan is European as well as Asian: many Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish, Lithuanian and other war evacuees, and soldiers from the U.S.S.R.'s Far Eastern Army decided to stay on here after the war. It has something of a frontier atmosphere and spirit.

Uzbekistan, about the size of Sweden, is wholly Asian. A busy and swiftly developing nation, its economy is 70% industrial although it produces over 80% of the U.S.S.R.'s cotton. It is made up of ancient oases formed around river beds and separated by waterless steppes, deserts and mountain ranges.

FARKHAD AND SHIRIN! The beautiful legend of Farkhad the Stonemason, who tried to irrigate the Hungry Steppe of Uzbekistan with the waters of the Syr Darya to win the heart of Shirin, his beloved, has for centuries stirred the Uzbek people. Today the legend has become a living thing. At Farkhad's Rocks the muddy foaming waters of the Syr Darya cascade majestically over the raised lock gates of the Farkhad Dam. Construction of the dam and the Farkhad Electric Power Station (whose high tension wires are called Shirin's Plaits) was begun in 1942 after the destruction of the Dnieper Dam.

Without excavators and technical equipment, 50,000 collective farmers began the construction—with the help of Ukrainian and Russian experts. Today canals run out from the Syr Darya to irrigate the Hungry Steppe, which is being turned into a "steppe of plenty."

AN "ALMOST" EDEN: Only someone who has experienced the heat and almost incredible dust of the sun-scorched Hungry Steppe can fully appreciate the new green settlements, the pleasantly shaded town of Begovat, its running water (however muddy) and its sewage system. It is still hot, dirty and dusty, and by Western standards living conditions are exacting; but compared with the arid steppe it once was, it seems almost an Eden.

The Farkhad power and irrigation system is only one of many built in Uzbekistan. The Republic's irrigated land has increased from 2,000,000 acres to 5,000,000. This year electrification of its rural areas will be completed.

"Independence lies in industrialization, not declarations," a Tashkent factory manager said to me. In plants I visited in Uzbekistan there were usually 20 to 30 nationalities represented among the workers and the managements.

LIVING TOGETHER: What the multi-national republics like Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan have already achieved in the way of race and national relations stands as a beacon to the world—even though in science and in industry, and other aspects of their life, they are at the beginning of their modern history.

Some 60 nationalities in Uzbekistan, and more than 40 in Kazakhstan—brown, black, white, yellow—live side by side as equals, and sometimes as members of the same family.

The Kazakh people, never before united in a national state, were before the revolution nomadic tribes, 98% illiterate, living primitively and, for all practical purposes, without a written language. Uzbek history stretches back into antiquity. The great Uzbek scientist Avicenna lived and worked in Bokhara 1,000 years ago. Tamurlaine's grandson Ulug-beg was one of the world's most renowned mathematicians and astronomers. However, Uzbek culture was destroyed by Genghis Khan and other colonizers and the Uzbek people reduced to complete illiteracy.

In these Republics all persons over 35 have lived through a social transformation of which a Kazakh historian said: "I think of myself as a man of 2,000 years. I was a herdsman, learned to read and write only with the coming of Soviet power. I have seen feudalism, capitalism and socialism. If we compare this to the history of Europe, it is 2,000 years."

LANGUAGE BARRIER: The first step was getting rid of illiteracy which involved discarding the Arabic script for the Russian script. An Uzbek scientist explained:

"Arabic was the state language here and, like Latin, was independent of nationality. But Uzbek has sounds that the Arabic alphabet does not convey. After studying this alphabet for years people were still illiterate. We first transferred to the Latin script (1929); then to Russian (1940). This reform quickly simplified language problems for Uzbeks and Russians, as well as for other nationalities. Our cultural heritage, previously unknown except to a handful, is now available to all in Uzbek." (The Uzbek Institute of Oriental Studies is a mecca for students from all over Asia.)

A similar solution to the language problem was made in Kazakhstan. There the basis for higher education was laid only by 1930, and for science in 1932. The Kazakh Academy of Science was organized in 1946.

GUIDING PRINCIPLE: Young as it is, the science of these Republics is already winning international standing. The Kazakh Academy has 650,000 volumes in its central library; subscribes to all the main world scientific publications and itself publishes many scientific works in both Kazakh and Russian. Scientists with whom I talked showed wide familiarity with scientific work in the U.S.; all expressed a desire for more contacts.

These scientists are guided by a principle voiced 500 years ago by the great Uzbek poet Alisher Navoi: "It is better to be a small fire on earth but useful to the people than lightning useless in the sky." Theirs has been the job of discovering and developing natural resources, improving soil and plant breeds, speeding industrialization.

Theirs, too, is the job of developing the national language, culture and history. Courses at the Republic's 26 universities and colleges are conducted in both Kazakh and Russian and, when necessary, in other languages.

CROWDED THEATERS: In Uzbekistan, where there are Uzbek, Russian, Tadjik, Turkmenian and many other national schools, the same rules hold. The many nationalities in Uzbekistan can now study in their own language all the way up through the university. Where only 40 years ago there was not a single Uzbek with a higher education, there are now 36 universities, 95 technical colleges, more than 100 specialized technical institutions.

The works of a Kazakh writer I met had been translated into 25 languages. Many of the classics of world literature have been translated into Kazakh and Uzbek. Shakespeare plays are regularly performed in both languages; people crowd the theaters in cities, towns and villages to see plays written by Uzbek writers, performed and sung by Uzbek artists. A Tashkent producer explained that after the revolution old legends and songs were recited and sung to the people and out of these there slowly evolved a national theater. This theater group writes and produces four or five plays a year. Uzbek audiences hang on every word of long plays, delight in the rich folk humor and shout advice, approval or disapproval.

STATUE OF ALISHER NAVOI
Uzbek honors its beloved poet

What's the color of baseball?

Shown above is the star of the Hi Toms team of the Carolina League, Curt Flood, 17-yeard-old rookie. He is one of the first Negroes ever to play with the team. Flanking him are Bert Hass, manager (l.); and Haven Schmidt, catcher. The Hi-Toms represent two neighboring North Carolina cities, Thomasville and High Point. It won its second straight pennant this season with Curt Flood doing more than his share. He also made the league's All-Star Team. Other Carolina League teams also are integrated. These include Winston-Salem, Fayetteville, and Danville, Va. In Danville this season there was no segregation in the bleachers until police insisted. Negro attendance immediately dropped off 70 percent. At the Ernie Shore Field in Winston-Salem whites and Negroes have been seating themselves separately, but there is no enforcement of jimcrow and no signs. When there is integrated seating no attempts are made to prohibit it. Texas League clubs have several Negro players and are refusing to leave them home when they play in Louisiana. The Louisiana legislature has recently ruled against "mixed" athletic games; but even now many are seeing that this can hurt the state in more ways than financial.

WHY THE TORIES BACKED DOWN

Labour MP's lambaste Eden for talking war on Suez

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

WHEN THE SPECIAL session of Commons on the Suez crisis ended at midnight on Sept. 13, the danger of a desperate Tory plunge into war remained acute. But the dramatic shift of political winds inside Britain had given new hope for sanity and left the general staff of reaction throughout the West with aching heads.

In two stages the long-pent-up thunderclouds of British labor had burst, and the movement had gone a long way toward re-asserting its identity in "the fundamental struggle between those who fill their coffers and those who give blood and sweat." The words were those of a Boilermakers Union delegate at the previous week's Trades Union Congress in Brighton where the storm first broke. Labor's revolt, in which its piecard leaders were unwillingly swept along, had to begin over the Tories' domestic policy: it took the form of a unanimous TUC refusal to accept "wage restraint" while prices rise in an unplanned economy.

This took off the lid, and the naked class character of the Tories' foreign policy stood revealed as a twin target alongside their domestic policy. The TUC, representing Britain's 8,000,000 organized workers and effectively controlling the Labour Party, also condemned unanimously any use of force over Suez "except with UN consent." The stage was set for the biggest and noisiest demonstration of solidarity against Tory warmongering seen for years in Parliament.

ON THE VETO LIMB: Soon after Prime Minister Eden began outlining the new "Canal Users Assn." scheme for Suez, there were opposition cries of "Deliberate provocation!", "You are talking about war!", "Resign!" Tories who had led in Nazi appeasement made a big play with Labour's own responsibility for the Middle East mess when it was in power, and with last month's speeches by Labour's Hugh Gaitskell and Herbert Morrison which more or less accepted the "parrallel" between Nasser and Hitler. The belligerent Morrison, now wholly discredited in his own party, has gone to the U.S. to "lecture on world affairs." Gaitskell, the right-winger outstripped by events, had to lead Labour's pressure on Eden to take the Suez dispute to UN. The Tories, expressing fear that this "would only mean a Soviet veto," actually feared it would mean a compromise solution formulated by UN "neutrals," acceptable to Egypt and leaving themselves out on the veto limb.

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Starlings, ma'am? If you ask me they're more likely chickens coming home to roost!!"

Mercilessly grilling Eden after word came through Sept. 13 that the U.S. would not back a resort to force, Labourites raised deafening cheers as they finally dragged out of him a shrill and peevish promise to go to UN "in an emergency." Lolling on their green leather benches across from Her Majesty's hooting opposition, the Tory warmongers were a picture of pitiful frustration.

SHINWELL ON U.S.A.: The "Canal Users Assn." scheme had laid a bigger egg than any of their previous provocations. One Labourite, pouring ridicule on the scheme, compared it with "a man going to the cinema, taking his own usherette and refusing to pay admission." Nobody could think it was meant to be taken seriously as a way to run the canal, and ex-Defense Minister Shinwell suspected another American gimmick for dirty work in the Middle East ("they don't mind embroiling us in little bits of trouble because it suits their books.") Shinwell drew a shout of approval when, recalling the negotiations with the Americans over Iran's oil, he referred to the Texas oil men who took part in them as "the biggest bunch of gangsters you ever saw."

The Tories looked around the world and found that nobody loved them. Even the British Commonwealth countries took a dim view—Australia and Canada as well as India and Ceylon. Outside Britain, France and the U.S., only one favorable reaction was reported anywhere—in South Africa, which will get any traffic that is re-routed from Suez. Even the Tories were not united. In Commons former Atty. Gen. Sir Lionel Heald, in the Lords the Archbishop of Canterbury, had echoed Labour's plea for going to UN. The **Times** reported a "wide measure of agreement" with them on the Tory side.

THE ROAD BACK: But the vital development for the world progressive cause is the new solidarity of the Labour Party. The swing-around of "loyal" Labourites was symbolized in the Commons tearoom on Thursday when a small elderly man approached Konni Zilliacus, MP for Gorton and one of the moulders of Labour's new foreign-policy militancy, and said: "Congratulations on your speech—I agree with every word of it." He was Arthur Moody, the machine candidate who ousted Zilliacus from his former seat at Gateshead after Zilliacus was expelled from the Labour Party in 1950.

Zilliacus had not only roasted the Tories' "warmed-up neo-Disraelian imperial grandeur policy" because "the road back to imperialism and power politics is closed," but had given a statesmanlike outline of the alternative. Britain, he said, still had the opportunity to give leadership in "new techniques of international relations" by working through UN for a settlement on the basis of peace with Israel and economic aid throughout the Middle East including Egypt's Aswan Dam.

TEST AT BLACKPOOL: Other speeches from the Labour side suggested no lack of potential leadership to restore British prestige although, as R. H. S. Crossman said, the Tories' efforts could only result in "devastating defeat for Britain whichever way it comes out, whether by war or negotiated settlement." Wedgwood Benn, one of Labour's most effective younger men, made a brilliant and sizzling analysis. If the issue were not taken to UN, he said, it would be deliberate provocation of a war "without purpose or hope, which would bring disgrace, dishonor and possibly disaster" upon Britain. Alfred Robens, Labour's "shadow cabinet" foreign minister, referred to the declaration of organized workers on British-owned tea and rubber plantations in Ceylon that they would take "suitable action" if force were used against Egypt. The Tories showed their inability to learn anything by jeering; Robens said they would change their tune if "all these people go on strike wherever there are British interests in Asian countries."

How far right-wing leaders are able to curb the British labor movement's rediscovered militancy will be seen at the annual Labour Party conference opening Oct. 1 at Blackpool. Meanwhile it was given further impetus at mass Suez Emergency Committee rallies in London, Liverpool and other cities the week after the Suez debate, addressed by such unashamed Socialist MP's as Wedgwood Benn, Fenner Brockway, Zilliacus, Harold Davies and Sydney Silverman.

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

You're on another brink, Mr. Dulles

The Suez story

(Continued from Page 1)

quences." He felt that the unilateral plan, drawn up without "agreement, cooperation or consent" of Egypt and most canal users, "is in the nature of an imposed decision."

Nehru said that in the view of the Indian government Nasser's call for a canal users' conference—to negotiate canal maintenance, ceilings on tolls and free passage of ships of all nations—had opened the way for a peaceful settlement of the Suez crisis. He announced that he had thus notified Eden and President Eisenhower.

Other Asian and European countries echoed Nehru's warning that the Dulles plan ran a "grave risk" of war. Ceylon's Prime Minister Bandaranaike, calling the Dulles plan "a giant stride toward war," said: "The fat is in the fire." The Scandinavian countries refused to endorse the Dulles plan, agreed at a Foreign Ministers' meeting at Stockholm that the Suez crisis must be submitted to the UN.

CHINA'S STATEMENT: The Bonn press sharply attacked the West's "tough" line against Nasser as dangerous to West European unity. The influential Frankfurt **Allgemeine Zeitung** (9/15) said: "Whoever does not wish to see Egypt and her neighbors driven along the road of China . . . must earnestly hope that the policy of saber-rattling be abandoned."

At the eighth congress of the Chinese Communist Party in session at Peking, Chairman Mao Tse-tung pledged China's firm support for Egypt's nationalization of Suez, pointed to Taiwan (Formosa) and Suez as potentially dangerous trouble spots.

Yugoslavia's President Tito spoke out against the Anglo-French-U.S. moves for a showdown with Egypt. Soviet Premier Bulganin urged French Premier Mollet to negotiate peacefully rather than threaten the use of force.

In an official declaration (9/15) Moscow deplored the concentration of Anglo-French military forces in the Middle East to put pressure on Egypt, said that "violation of peace" in the area "cannot but affect the security of the Soviet state." "The Soviet Government considers," the declaration stated, "that the UN cannot but react to the existing situation."

ASIA'S PRESS COMMENTS: These repercussions came after the Asian press, public and government officials had already given overwhelming support to Egypt. In India, for example, the middle-of-the-road **Amrita Bazar Patrika** called the West's attitude toward Egypt a "threat to peace in the area." The conservative **Hindustan Times** said that Nasser's proposal for a new meeting was constructive and reasonable. Similar sentiments were expressed by the Indonesian newspapers, **Times of Indonesia** and **Harian Rakjat.**

The World Student Congress in Prague and the All-India Peace Council counseled peaceful negotiations, respecting Egyptian sovereignty. A meeting of all political parties in Karachi, Pakistan, declared that use of force against Egypt would be considered a war against Islam, in which all Islamic countries would aid Nasser. The meeting criticized Pakistan's Foreign Minister Chowdhury's support of the previous Dulles plan at the last London conference. This forced Chowdhury to state publicly that his government would not tolerate the use of force to settle the Suez issue. Criticism of Western policy also appeared in the Pakistan press.

SI SIT PRUDENTIA: Facing such widespread reaction, both Eden and Dulles began to modify their stand. Perhaps following his family's motto "Si Sit Prudentia" (If This be Prudence)—as he had been urged to do by the London **Daily Mirror**—Eden told Parliament that Britain would first go to the UN if Nasser refused to cooperate with the "users' association." Dulles, observing that "Britain and France are the only warm supporters" (N.Y. **Times**, 9/17) of his plan, was reported "refining" and "amending" it, although he insisted that Egyptian control of running the canal was still intolerable to Washington.

In the foreseeable future the possibility was of an economic squeeze on Egypt by means of a boycott of the canal. Rerouting ships via the Cape of Good Hope would vastly increase Europe-Asia export and import transportation costs and prices; but Dulles was reported willing to grant Western Europe $500,000,000 credit and 450,000 barrels of oil daily,

(Continued on Page 9)

Supposing it was Panama

ONE-POWER CONTROL of international arteries has always been the rule rather than the exception. In addition to its former control of Suez, London rules Gibraltar, Malta and Singapore. Turkey controls the Dardanelles as the U.S. does the Panama Canal. As Egypt does in the case of Suez, the U.S. insists on sole control of the Panama Canal on the ground that it is vital to its security.

The Minneapolis **Star**, in an editorial Aug. 27, drew a parallel between Panama and Suez. Pointing out that in May, 1954, Washington, "wanting a change in the Guatemala regime," halted at the Panama Canal a French ship allegedly carrying Polish arms to Guatemala, the editorial said:

"Suppose France had protested against the holding up of the French ship as an arbitrary use of control over an international waterway to further the political aims of a single country. Suppose Russia had moved into the controversy on behalf of its Polish ally and had called a conference of 22 mainly non-capitalist nations, specifically for the purpose of . . . international control of the canal.

"Suppose a majority of that conference voted such a plan and appointed a committee to deliver it to the U. S. President. And suppose that in the meanwhile U. S. funds had been frozen abroad and that Russia, and perhaps China, began a buildup of armed forces in the Caribbean and nearby S. America.

"What do you think the reaction of the American people would be? [The Suez and Panama situations] are near enough to being parallel to illustrate the feelings of millions of Arabs, not only in Egypt but throughout the Middle East."

The Suez story

(Continued from Page 8)

transported in American tankers now in mothballs.

THE RELUCTANT ONES: As Dulles left for London to attend the Sept. 19 conference called by Eden to set up the "users' association" with the 18 nations that had supported the Menzies mission taking part, the success of his plan remained in doubt. Italy, Spain and W. Germany were reported unwilling to jeopardize their expanding market in Asia and Africa; Turkey and Ethiopia were reported attending reluctantly; and Pakistan and Iran were said to want assurances against economic strangulation of Egypt.

On the eve of the London conference, Cairo announced that 20 nations—including the Asian-African countries and all the socialist countries—already had accepted Nasser's invitation to his meeting. India's roving ambassador Krishna Menon flew to Egypt to confer with Nasser.

At GUARDIAN press time, although the war scare had subsided considerably, the confusion had increased over the next step to be taken. Eden and Mr. Eisenhower told Nehru they wanted a peaceful solution, but declined to give up the "users' association" plan. Dulles denied reports that the U.S. would underwrite the hike in costs caused by rerouting of Western ships; this created an uproar in London, which demanded such underwriting as an outright grant.

But the possibility of war, precipitated by an "incident" involving an attempt by a "users' association" convoy to enter the Suez Canal, could not be discounted, especially since both Eden and Mollet have staked their political lives on a showdown with Nasser.

Meanwhile, even after the Western pilots had walked off their jobs (many with grumbling reluctance), traffic in the canal moved smoothly under an Egyptian staff, without incidents or delay. Cairo facilitated the repatriation of the Western pilots, as it welcomed 15 Soviet, and four Yugoslav pilots and a W. German arriving to augment the Egyptian staff.

Don't buy your holiday cards until you hear about the Guardian's beautiful new selection.

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"Good morning, Foster, what foreign policy shall we make today?"

OCTOBER 5

Forum in Chicago on American Left

A SYMPOSIUM on the question "What Next For the American Left" is scheduled for Oct. 5 at 8 p.m. at Temple Hall, 332 S. Marshfield, Chicago. Participants will be: Rev. A. J. Muste, secy. emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, one of the sponsors of the forum; authors Harvey O'Connor and Sidney Lens; Bert Cochran, an editor of the **American Socialist**; and Claude Lightfoot, chairman of the Communist Party of Illinois.

In announcing the symposium Mr. Muste said: "This meeting is an event by itself and the whole point is that democratic process requires open discussion of all points of view."

SUPREME COURT TEST OCT. 8

5 N. Y. Smith Act defendants sentenced

SIX LEADERS of the Communist Party were sentenced by Federal Judge Alexander Bicks in New York last week to prison terms ranging from one to five years after their conviction under the Smith Act.

William Norman, 55, executive secy. of the N.Y. CP, received the only five-year sentence. Alexander Trachtenberg, 72, head of International Publishers, was given one year. The others sentenced were: Fred M. Fine, 42, former public affairs secy. of the CP, four years; Sidney Stein, 42, former asst. natl. labor secy., three years; James Jackson, 41, former Southern regional director, two years; George Blake Charney, acting N.Y. State chairman, two years.

Another defendant, Mrs. Marion Bachrach, was acquitted last June by a directed verdict from Judge Bicks after the government had rested its case.

Although government attorneys asked that "no mercy" be shown the defendants, they also asked, for the first time in a Smith Act trial, that no fines be levied out of consideration for the government's time and energy in collecting from such "impecunious" defendants.

HIGH COURT HEARING: All six were released in bail pending appeal. Charney and Trachtenberg were convicted in 1953 and sentenced to two and three years, respectively, but were granted a second trial after Harvey Matusow admitted his testimony was false. The other four became Smith Act refugees after the first indictment was handed down in 1951, charging a "conspiracy to teach and advocate" violent overthrow of the government. Norman, Fine and Jackson surrendered voluntarily earlier this year.

Of the other 15 originally indicted in 1951, one, Israel Amter, is dead; three were acquitted; six are still in prison, five are free after completing their sentence.

On Oct. 8 the Supreme Court will hear arguments appealing the Smith Act "conspiracy to teach and advocate" verdicts in California and Pennsylvania. Also filed with the high court are briefs challenging the convictions of Junius Scales and Claude Lightfoot under the membership clause of the Smith Act.

Politics story

(Continued from Page 1)

probably have stayed at home if they had no candidate of their own.

LEROY GORE LOSES: Though Wiley fought under the Eisenhower banner, the President officially declared his neutrality. Since Wisconsin allows a voter to ballot in any primary without regard to previous enrollment, Wiley's victory is widely credited to Democrats and independents.

Robert C. Zimmerman, who denounced McCarthy and was therefore denied party machine support, nevertheless won the Republican nomination for Wisconsin Secy. of State.

But McCarthy had one cheerful return: his most vigorous opponent, Leroy Gore, who first raised the battlecry, "Joe Must Go", was defeated in a try for the Democratic nomination for Congress from the Third District. Norman Clapp, published of a Lancaster. Wis., weekly, won. One reason for Gore's defeat was that many who might have supported him voted in the Republican primary to save Wiley.

TAYLOR JUST MISSES: Former Sen. Glen Taylor of Idaho also lost his race for Democratic re-nomination by only 200 votes to a newcomer in politics, Frank Church. Taylor asked for a recount, and also offered affidavits suggesting irregularities to the Senate Elections Subcommittee but these were rejected as insufficient evidence to warrant an investigation. Taylor ran for Vice President on the Progressive Party ticket with Henry Wallace in 1948; in 1954 he won the Democratic nomination for the Senate but lost the election.

NEW YORK RACES: Meanwhile Congress was losing some of its left-of-center voices. In New York, Rep. Arthur Klein, who has been elected to Congress from his Lower East Side constituency eight times since 1940, was picked by the Democratic and Liberal Parties to run for the State Supreme Court. Klein had a liberal voting record and once—in 1948—ran with ALP endorsement, though at other times he rejected it.

N. Y. Sen. Herbert Lehman (D) would also be absent from the new Congress. His retirement—considered to have been motivated, in large measure, by the Democrats' watery stand on civil rights—offered the State a Senatorial race between two candidates of almost identical political coloration.

Both Javits and Mayor Wagner are known as liberals who have appeased the worst elements in their respective parties. It presented a quandary for liberals. The N. Y. **Post** (9/11) cited Javits' endorsement of Nixon and Wagner's "condoning the invasions of civil liberties staged by [city] Corporation Counsel Peter Campbell Brown." The **Post** nevertheless had kind words for each, but said it couldn't make up its mind just yet. Its editorial added, by way of complication, that there were "grave questions" about the qualifications of City Council President Abe Stark, who would succeed to the mayoralty if Wagner went to the Senate.

TALMADGE WHOOPS IN: Among other new faces in the Senate will be that of Herman Talmadge of Georgia, bitter-end segregationist, a whooping demagogue among the back-country wool hats and a smooth politician amid the city machines. He swamped ex-Gov. M. E. Thompson in the Democratic primaries last week, assuring his victory in November. He will take the seat held by Senator George, who retired early this year. In his victory statement Talmadge pledged to fight against "efforts being made on the national level to destroy constitutional government, state's rights and local self-determination . . . "

BRANNAN LOSES: A champion of rigid high parity support for farmers, Charles F. Brannan, former Secy. of Agriculture and author of the Brannan Plan, lost a close contest for the Democratic Senatorial nomination from Colorado.

There were three straws in the wind in last week's voting. Returns from Maine and Washington cheered the Democrats. Minnesota was mildly reassuring to the Republicans.

STATE OF MAINE: Maine last week reelected Democratic Gov. Edmund S. Muskie by the largest vote ever given a governor of either party in the state; elected its first Democratic congressman since 1934, Frank M. Coffin, and may have elected another. In the first district race for congressman less than 100 votes divide the GOP's incumbent Robert Hale from the Democrats' James C. Oliver, with reports varying as to which holds the lead. Democrats also gained in the State legislature.

Democrats saw a sure prophecy in the Maine results, but it was hard to sift the national factors from the local ones in appraising the election. Muskie has been so popular a governor that even the hide-bound pro-GOP press of Maine declined to oppose him. Still, President Eisenhower had called for a Republican victory in Maine and failed to get it. It weakened the confidence of those who believed in the sure magic of his name.

WASHINGTON AND MINNESOTA: In Washington, where the primaries were a popularity contest to see which party could bring out more voters, the Democrats won hands down. Sen. Magnuson ran 136,500 votes ahead of the Republican keynoter, Gov. Langlie.

A similar contest in Minnesota went to the Republicans, but only by a slight margin. Ancher Nelson won the Republican nomination for governor, polling only 12,000 more votes than Democratic Farmer-Labor Gov. Freeman got in his own party.

CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE: The top candidates formally launched their campaign amid indications that the ante had been raised on civil rights statements. Both Adlai Stevenson and President Eisenhower had sought to avoid anything beyond generalities on the subject and Stevenson had said the matter ought not to be an issue. But, as Southern tension mounted, Stevenson said it was the duty of a President to create a better "climate" for solving the problem. The President countered by advancing from a cautious neutrality in the battle of school children vs. mobs to a statement that the law should be enforced.

MINE UNION SPEAKS: While the official AFL-CIO endorsement of the Stevenson ticket was being passed down with varying degrees of enthusiasm to the rank-and-file, the United Mine Workers took its own position.

The United Mine Workers **Journal** (9/1) offered endorsements to 45 candidates from 17 coal mining states: seven for the Senate, all Democrats; 38 for the House of which seven are Republicans, 31 Democrats. They were selected on the basis of their voting record on legislation backed by the UMW. In scoring the party platforms, the UMW said it favored the Democrats' planks on labor, taxes and social security; the Republican position on international trade, peaceful uses of atomic energy and foreign policy. Both failed to pass on civil rights.

The union made no choice of a Presidential ticket and summed up: "There really isn't much difference between the parties."

Daily News, Greensboro (N. C.)

"Stick around—we'll need you for the rock 'n roll part."

N. Y. Herald Tribune

Come all ye disconsolate wherever ye wander.

BOOKS

Thoreau of Walden — the passionate dissent

By Elmer Bendiner

IT IS DIFFICULT to chronicle the life of a man who spends a great deal of time "on the hill-tops waiting for the sky to fall that I might catch something." No biographer could attempt to tell the life story of Henry David Thoreau unless he had a little of Thoreau in him.

Henry Beetle Hough, editor of the **Vineyard Gazette** of Martha's Vineyard, has made a valiant effort to give Thoreau a setting and a scenario* but even this Thoreau-like country man must content himself with modestly painting in the backdrop. The real story of Thoreau has already been incomparably presented by Thoreau himself and the best any biographer can do is to quote him. Hough does that with excellent judgment. But he does more: he provides a stimulating introduction to Thoreau.

HOUGH sets Thoreau in his time when freedom still hung in the air left over from the Revolution, while Negro slavery and the genocide of the western Indians already sent up a more powerful odor for sensitive souls. The philosophers of New England contemplated or ignored their country according to their several natures, but it remained for the man, billed generally as a recluse, to act.

Hough quotes Thoreau on why he selected the site of Walden Pond for a home. "I have thought that Walden Pond would be a good place for business, not solely on account of the railroad and the ice trade; it offers advantages which it may not be good policy to divulge; it is a good post and a good foundation." Hough asks: "What does this mean if not that Henry

HENRY BEETLE HOUGH
He has an island too

was engaged in forwarding runaway slaves?"

THOUGH UNQUESTIONABLY he wished to hear the crickets chirp at midnight, Thoreau was never removed from mankind. He sent slaves hurrying on to the North Star, called Abolitionist meetings in drowsy Concord. When John Brown faced death while New Englanders dismissed him as a fanatic, Thoreau summoned a meeting in the church vestry and in a brilliant, scathing, passionate plea said:

"It was his [Brown's] peculiar doctrine that a man has a perfect right to interfere by force with the slave-holder, in order to rescue the slave. I agree with him. They who are continually shocked by the slavery have some right to be shocked by the violent death of the slave-holder, but no others. Such will be more shocked by his life than by his death. I do not wish to kill or be killed, but I can foresee circumstances in which both these things would be by me unavoidable."

THOREAU WAS NOT a popular man and he never swam with the tide—though he discerned it. Of the winning of the West for gold and land he said: ". . . there is nothing in it which one would lay down his life for, not even his gloves." He went to jail for a night for refusing to pay taxes because he would not follow his dollar "till it buys a man, or a musket to shoot him with."

At a time of mounting national feeling he said: "I would remind my countrymen that they are men first, and Americans only at a late and convenient hour."

Since Thoreau's passionate dissent radicals have acquired perhaps a richer sense of history. They see things in perspective, but thereby they have lost the immediacy, the sense of outrage that stirred Thoreau when by his unhistoric lights he saw something wrong. Radicals lately have climbed mountain tops and viewed great patterns.

THEY GAUGE conflicting forces, judge where the currents flow. They map tactics seeking how to take advantage of this current or that, how to tack and retreat. That may make for wise radicals and master strategists but the view from the summit is still a spectator's view.

It is not that of a participant who, in the sight of a crime like slavery or jimcrow, cannot concieve of compromise or moderation. The Olympian view does not become a fiery dissenter who moves and speaks without looking around first to count noses on his side.

Captains are necessary when there is a movement to direct. But few movements can take hold without a singing prophet among people who says as Thoreau did when he left Walden Pond: "I do not wish for a ticket to the boxes or to take a cabin passage. I will rather go before the mast and on the deck of the world."

**THOREAU OF WALDEN, by Henry Beetle Hough, 275 pp., Simon and Schuster, $4.*

Books in brief

The atom made easy

● For once, in **Explaining the Atom***, the blurb is modest: "A remarkable book which actually makes the atom and its energy comprehensible to the intelligent layman, even though he has no scientific background." The late Selig Hecht, eminent biophysicist, with an assist in updating and revision from Prof. Eugene Rabinowitch, editor of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, have done more than the blurb claims.

Whatever we may think of the level of our *belles lettres*, most people will agree that readers of English have had a lot of fine science reporting and popularizations. For clarity in dealing with a difficult subject and making it easily intelligible, for organizing such material in a reasonable sequence without neglecting the history of the modern atom, and for a sweet, non-condescending style, this ranks with the best.

> THE development of "tactical" atomic bombs has been widely misinterpreted as meaning that atomic bombs with fissionable loads much smaller than those used in Japan could now be fabricated; so that a proportionately larger number of bombs could be made from the same amount of explosives. The requirements of critical size, however, cannot be avoided; consequently, a tactical atomic bomb is not a bomb containing only a minute amount of fissionable material, but a bomb that carries a full fissionable load but has a housing and detonating device small and light enough to permit its use under field conditions, scattering most of the load into the wind."
> —From **Explaining the Atom**

Those who live in a democracy need to understand it so that their struggles to maintain and advance it are effective. Those who live in the Atom Age need to understand clearly what is at the basis of science and everything else including the bomb and democracy. Aside from some brief and rather pointless speculations about Soviet motives and possible espionage, here is a book which permits us to combine pleasure with the duty of being informed.

**EXPLAINING THE ATOM. Selig Hecht; $1.99, while they last, to members of Liberty Book Club, 100 W. 23d St., N.Y.C.; free as premium with current selection to new members. Regular edition, $3.75, Viking Press, N. Y. C.*

Most unquieting type

● Graham Greene's **The Quiet American** (Viking, New York, 249 pp; $3.50) is not a proletarian novel. Neither is it a favoring romance about hired hands of the capitalist free world struggling to do good. So unquiet left-wing and right-wing American critics have complained. Greene, a humane but pessimistic Englishman, fulfilled the hopes of neither. But his tale of old colonialism and new, the one snarling and the other piously taking over, has much interest for us Yankees. His citizen of a declining empire, an English reporter covering Indo-China just before Geneva and the truce, is a frustrated, aimless drug-taker. He is not endearing and Greene evidently didn't intend him to be. But the book-fed Ivy League youngster working for the State Dept. and/or Central Intelligence is guaranteed to startle most of us, not so much as a murderer but as a self-righteous and blind one. He is too shallow and, in this and his "innocence," somewhat grotesque. But caricature depends for its effects on a degree of resemblance. Is this how our Tories look to an old hand from Toryland?

—**Robert Joyce**

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THE MINERICH CASE

U.S. seeks to strip veteran unionist of citizenship in trial in Chicago

IN A CHICAGO Federal District Court last week the Justice Dept. opened its case against Anthony Minerich, seeking to strip him of his citizenship. The trial is part of a denaturalization offensive under the Walter-McCarran Law that has already trapped more than 50 Americans. Thirteen have already been denaturalized in the current drive.

Anthony Minerich came to the U. S. from Croatia 51 years ago at the age of two. When he was eight he began his career as a miner in the Pennsylvania coal pits and there learned his unionism. He joined the United Mine Workers and in his early twenties became an organizer and leader.

In 1927 and '28 when strikes swept the coal fields of Pennsylvania and Ohio the companies quickly obtained injunctions to halt meetings and break up picket lines. (Raw company-court collaboration was common before passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.) Minerich nevertheless addressed the strikers, was arrested and convicted for contempt in violating the injunction.

THE ABSURDITY: While appealing that conviction Minerich's application for citizenship reached its final stage. He was made a citizen on March 14, 1928. His pending contempt case had been widely reported in the press; an attempt to conceal it would have been absurd. But last week, 27½ years later, before Judge Walter La Buy the government charged that Minerich had concealed that "police record" when he obtained his citizenship. The government was therefore asking that he be denaturalized and eventually deported to Yugoslavia—a country that did not exist when he was born.

It is also charged that at the time of his naturalization Minerich concealed membership in the Communist Party though it was not then considered a disqualification for naturalization.

Minerich is now business manager of the progressive Croatian-language weekly **Narodnik Glasnik,** published in Chicago, and is the third member of the staff to face denaturalization proceedings. Editor Leo Fisher was tried last February. His citizenship—awarded to him as the result of war services—was ordered revoked after a trial which, like Minerich's, involved alleged concealment of a criminal record. Fisher had been arrested after leading a demonstration of unemployed during the depression.

10,000 THREATENED: Similar proceedings are pending against Arthur Bartl, assistant editor of the **Narodnik Glasnik.** Bartl earned his citizenship by participating in a "suicide" mission behind the Nazi lines while serving in the Office of Strategic Services.

Of those citizens already caught in the dragnet the average is 55 years old, has lived in the U. S. for 38 years and has held citizenship for from nine to 31 years. In most cases their offense has been political; in many cases they have been among the spark plugs of the American labor movement. The Justice Dept. has reported that some 10,000 citizens might face denaturalization.

Know-nothing attacks against the foreign born were beaten back in 1942 when the Supreme Court ruled against the denaturalization of William Schneiderman for his political views. Another setback was administered last month when Federal Judge Harry C. Westover tossed out the government's case against Rose Chernin Kusnitz in Los Angeles. Judge Westover found the government's case was "bottomed primarily on the philosophy of guilt by association." He ruled: "Although this guilt by association philosophy may be accepted by some investigative groups, such a philosophy has never been recognized as a principle of law."

INFORMERS HIT: The Judge also said he was dissatisfied with the government's "professional witnesses" who recalled exact details concerning events of 25 years ago under direct examination, but fumbled incoherently and dodged far simple questions under cross-examination.

The Midwest Committee For Protection of Foreign Born last week asked Chicagoans to attend the Minerich trial in Federal Courthouse and called on friends everywhere to: write Atty. Gen. Brownell asking him to drop the case; write candidates urging them to take a stand against the Walter-McCarran Law; send defense funds to the Committee at 431 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 5.

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Los Angeles TOWN MEETING on the case of DIAMOND KIMM on the eve of his final appeal to stay his deportation to So. Korea where he will will face physical persecution and possible death. Dramatic presentation. Sat., Sept. 29, 8 p.m., Park Manor, 607 So. Western Ave. Refreshments. Don. Ausp.: Friends of Diamond Kimm.

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Festival in Paris

THERE IS ONE PARIS FESTIVAL the foreign tourist rarely comes near. And yet the first week-end of September each year turns the huge Bois de Vincennes, on the south-east edge of Paris, into an ocean of flags and a sea of people. It's La Fete de l'Humanite.

Humanite, official French CP daily, is third or fourth among the eight Paris morning papers; its Sunday edition, **Humanite Dimanche,** holds first rank among political Sunday papers in France.

But no matter how big its circulation figures (around 250,000 for **Humanite,** over 500,000 for **Humanite Dimanche) Humanite,** like all newspapers (the GUARDIAN too), needs advertising to live; and like all left-wing papers (the GUARDIAN too), it does not get enough of it. So it has to appeal to its readers and friends for help. Its widest and most popular appeal is the festival.

But the festival is not only fund-collecting, nor is it strictly a party affair. It is a friendly reunion of as many people, groups and artists as can find room under the heading of Peace and Friendship Between the Nations. It is by now a long-standing tradition.

ALL THE WORLD: There you meet the people of Paris, complete with wife, kids and mother-in-law. The provinces have sent delegations of trade unions, farmers, youth groups. The whole world is there—at least most that is progressive in it: Bulgaria and China, Vietnam and Poland, the Soviet Union, Spanish Republicans, Greek patriots, and Portuguese and Italian democrats.

The European socialist countries have brought local crafts and diagrams; China, lacquered boxes and statistics; the Greeks, Samos wine and an urgent appeal for the liberation of Cyprus; the Italians, Chianti and a call for unity on the left; the German Democratic Republic, beer and a protest list against the outlawing of the Communist Party in Western Germany.

Treasures of inventiveness, hours of time and sleep went into decorating the stands of the smaller suburban and provincial groups. Unknown genius rivalled that of the world-famous Picasso, the late Fernand Léger, Lurcat—all contributed a touch of gaiety and beauty to make it more festive.

A WOODEN MOUNTAIN: The festival went on two days and two nights, and the show was everywhere. It was in the marvellous performance of a group of East German tight-rope acrobats and in colorful Vietnam dances. The Nature Friends had set up an enormous wooden rock with mountaineering equipment for any one ready to climb it. Someone else had thought of organizing a bull-fight. Redvested Alsatians were offering Strassbourg sausages and gugelhopf; people from Touraine were pouring out the light, heady white wine that grows only there; and at the Limousine stand, a round little pig pink with embarrassment was being groomed to play first prize in a lottery. On the grass on the outer edge of the fair ground, meanwhile, people were taking their shoes off or eating a sandwich, and

Effel in Humanite, Paris

THE WINE FLOWED LIKE TEARS.

babies did their best to get chocolate and grease spots all over their Sunday clothes.

There was entertainment for every taste: movies, music-hall and dancing, foreign stamps and a history museum. Some contemporary artists were showing their painting and tapestries, novelists were autographing their books. It was everybody's festival.

One of the last visitors to leave was an elderly woman happily clutching a (live) chicken in her arm. And on the other end of town, at the same hour, a few editors and reporters, content if a little more tired than usual, were putting their newspaper to press, as usual.

—**Anne Bauer**

Explaining socialism

NEW YORK, N. Y.

This is in answer to readers who have inquired about factual literature on the subject of socialism. There are two excellent booklets that explain, in simple words, capitalism, socialism, and communism. The first booklet, **An Introduction to Marxism,** by Emile Burns, can be bought at or ordered from The Jefferson School, 575 Sixth Av., New York 11, at 65c per copy. The second booklet is **The ABC of Socialism,** by Leo Huberman. This can be bought from Monthly Review, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, at 50c per copy. Discount prices prevail for orders of five or more copies.

Anonymous